

Social Questions

BULLETIN

of the Methodist Federation for Social Service (unofficial), an organization which rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society; which seeks to replace it with social-economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinctions and privileges.

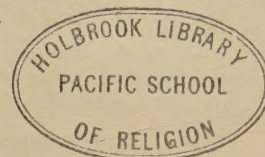
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The Utopia of Jesus

ALVA W. TAYLOR



The Kingdom of God was the utopia of Jesus but he was no mere utopian. He did not sketch out in detail all the machinery of a new social order. Indeed he made no program, wrote no constitution, delivered no codes, but planted the principles of brotherly love in the hearts of men and left them, like leaven, to work their way out in all the relations of men to both God and their fellows. He took the old Jewish commandment that a man must love the Lord his God with all his heart and mind and soul and added to it "and his neighbor as himself." John, the Apostle of love, in his letters lays it down that no man can love and serve God unless he loves and serves his fellowmen. Jesus made forgiveness conditional upon men forgiving one another. He also prayed that his followers might be one as he and the Father were one. In other words, the Kingdom of God was to be a Kingdom of right relations based on brotherly love and guided by the Golden Rule. Humanity was to be one great family with a common Father in which every member considered every other his brother, and as each in a good family gives more than he receives; each is to consider the things of the other as if they were his own.

The most imaginative and daring utopian has scarce undertaken to sketch so vast and comprehensive and perfect a commonwealth of common good as did Jesus in this vision of the Kingdom of God among men. It is the negation of all selfishness, greed, and love of power. It would make of business enterprise one vast undertaking in which men sought first to serve one another and only secondarily to profit themselves. It would make politics a means of ministry quite as much as school teaching, nursing and missionary work. It would erase all the lines of prejudice between men of different color and make the strong actually carry the burden of the weak instead of compelling the weak to carry the burden of the strong. It would abolish war and strong nations would no longer exploit the weak but give vicariously of their wealth, culture, and progress. It would rebuild a world on the spirit of service rather than gain for self and make greatest those who serve most. Unless its lofty principles are kept, no other schemes of men, howsoever well laid, will work effectively. It has been truly said that the teachings of Jesus are the most revolutionary principles ever enunciated, but it should also be said that because they are to be administered through love and in the spirit of service and sacrifice they, like the leaven, work in peace and not by violence.

The Church: Institutional Not Prophetic

The church is not, as it exists today, organized to promote social reform. It is more a school in Christian living than the advance guard of new and untried ideas. Its member-

ship is made up of all classes from babes in Christ to apostles of the Lord. It operates very successfully upon the functions involved in its formularies. Its primary task is that of cultivating Christian character in its individual membership and the organizing of this membership for the promotion of accepted standards. It can and does promote philanthropy and social amelioration, but the pew is divided on reform.

The term "the social gospel" implies the making of those moral readjustments involved in our modern organized life. It means the application of the principles taught by Jesus to our impersonal relationships to things of custom, law and the mechanics of civilization. Its preaching constitutes an effort to Christianize community, industrial and international relationships, as well as to apply the moral law to the means used in acquiring material goods.

What we know as the social problem in our times has emerged with our times. The historic churches were organized on bases that belonged to the time in which they were organized. Most of these bases are rooted in an individualistic age. The complex of our rapidly developing social period was not contemplated when their creeds and formularies were fixed. It thus requires a rather thorough-going revision of those creeds and standards of moral action to apply them to our social problems.

Institutions are, sociologically considered, conservators. Their vested interests consist not only in property and programs but in traditions and in glories of accomplishment. They stand for the faith once delivered much more than for any new articles in the faith that ought to be delivered. Thus it often comes about that causes entirely won are still battled for, and causes that need winning go without battle.

In this regard the church is no different from other great historic organizations. It is neither more conservative nor more progressive than is government or the school or the industrial system or any other fixed and going organization. In fact, its membership is made up from all these other organizations and they react in about the same manner within the church as they do within those complex interests under which they practice the making of a living, their social life and their political franchise.

The readjustments which will fit the fundamental principles of the gospel into the problems of a social period, depend upon a leadership within the church, or upon free lance leaders without a pastorate. The social conscience must lay the pulpit under requisition for an exposition of the meaning of the principles taught by the gospel to the problems of our time. This exposition cannot be given without difficulty by a man who is also the pastor of a congregation. He may preach a forthright social gospel and lose all his privileges as a pastor. He may accept the limitations of his pastoral office and fail to lead his people into

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those readjustments in moral and social life required by the changing times. Or he may establish his right as a specialist in the realms of moral interpretation and leadership and insist upon making social applications of the gospel. If successful he may retain the support of men who are well pleased with a social order out of which flows plenty for themselves but which his conscience leads him to criticize.

The great need within the church in the present day is for a prophetic ministry. When a preacher of the gospel sits in council with his church leaders on matters of institutional policy and practice he should become one of them, but when he enters his pulpit he should then speak the truth as God gives him to see the truth and without reference to the self-interest of those who sit in his pews. Jesus spoke more emphatically upon the temptations in acquiring and using material goods than on any other ethical problem. Institutions dependent upon material support speak upon it less. It is less a question of giving than of using.

God, Good and Goods

There is much more than alliteration in God-Good and Goods; there is a generic rootage in them. To be good is to be God-like and goods are a gift of God through which life is made possible; we do not live by bread alone nor can we live at all without bread; the sin of the successful farmer of the parable was not in his successful business or his thrift but in his living for that alone.

It is only the rare soul that can turn poverty into virtue. Poverty is, next to greed, perhaps the greatest evil in the world; it is the prolific source of all evils; it drives men to crime, debilitates all the best in human nature, gives little children the slum, ignorance, superstition and low living standards as an inheritance. Francis Willard said that poverty was a more prolific source of drunkenness than drink was of poverty. Christian America has registered no failure quite so great as the failure to abolish poverty; teachers of Christianity all too often fail to put the "inasmuch" teaching of Jesus at the heart of their message. That saying of the Master was not a demand for charity merely; it was a fundamental in brotherhood.

Jesus came to give abundant life. The marginal reading in the American revision is, "I come that they might have life and abundance." It makes no difference which reading is used—they mean the same thing; few can enjoy an abundant life without an abundance of the things that make life livable. Material equipment is the nurturing material of the good life as surely as soil and sunlight are the nurturing material of plant life; it is not the life but without it life perishes. To make the acquisition of material goods the chief aim of life is to grow all leaves and little fruit; it is primitive in the field of ethics and spiritual living, as primitive as a Caliban among saints. The money lover is an ethical troglodyte even though, like Goethe's Faust, he wears the habiliments of culture.

Ruskin wrote incisively on economic ethics; he put "illth" (sic) over against "wealth" in our laissez faire, competitive society. Here in America we have "poverty in the midst of plenty"—a few multimillionaires possessing as much as several million of their fellows and clinging to their millions while their fellows perish, answering the cry of need with a dole to charity, building luxurious churches within sight of their underpaid neighbors, hating those who guide society into more equitable ways of living and clinging to their security while denying it to those who have greater need. The Christian character of a society is to be judged more by its "illth" than by its "wealth" if what Jesus said about "inasmuch" is the criterion of judgment.

On no ethical question did Jesus put so much emphasis as on that of the love of and use of material goods; on none, perhaps, does the modern church put less. To the Master, as to the Apostle Paul, the love of money is a root of all evil; a man could not serve both God and Mammon. Yet, in our day, many a man serves Mammon most of his days,

then turns, like sinners of old turned to monasteries in their old age, to "doing good" with the fruits of his money lust. The elder Rockefeller garnered hundreds of millions, often through a ruthless destruction of his competitors, then became almost a saint in his latter days by bestowing it on philanthropy; his career as a monopolist is cloaked by his career as a philanthropist. A one-time U. S. senator was unseated by his colleagues for political crookedness but when he donated a beautiful church it was accepted with praise and dedicated with solemnity.

The temptations and evils in money getting are, like prostitution to love, great because the good in the right use of material things is so great. Jesus had no criticism of material things as such; the first petition in the Lord's prayer is for our daily bread. An unforgettable memory of the writer is the way in which his father always spoke of God as Providence.

It is not enough to do good. To be good is enough because it will always do good as well. To make money at the expense of others, then to give it to the church is to whiten sepulchers. Christianity brings culture wherever it goes but the institutions of Christianity all too often substitute culture, success, good luck in money making and the virtues of institutionalism for brotherhood, the golden rule and the building of the Kingdom of God within.

The most generous church is not the one that gives the most, else Jesus would have commended the rich givers rather than the poor widow. The most appropriately built church is not the most expensive; the simple, symmetrical old Quaker meeting house may be a much better symbol of the temple the Master declared greater than Jerusalem's. The little church college that makes it possible for the industrious, aspiring youth from the homes of the poor to get an education may represent both democracy and Christianity better than the richly endowed university that ups tuition fees, clings to outworn curricula, surrounds its campus with socially exclusive frat houses and devotes its millions to "pure learning" to the exclusion of purity in righteous human relationships. Christianity begets culture, sobriety, thrift and all the elements of success; the institutions of Christianity may then substitute these things for the building of the Kingdom of God in society. The Kingdom of God is built on brotherhood, sacrifice and the Golden Rule. It is built on the earth by men of good will, and all the providences of God are built into it, including so called "worldly goods." A certain Christian leader asked friends what he should do with his inheritance. He earned none of it so felt his duty was to use it for the Kingdom. He gave it away and thus missed a great opportunity to show how it could be made to work for the Kingdom through a genuinely Christian business—a thing all too rare.

"THEIRS NOT TO REASON WHY"



It Is Ridiculous to Talk of Peace---Unless

ARCHEY DECATUR BALL

Unless we have the intelligence and courage to incarnate Christian ideas and principles into resolute human deeds. Peace, righteousness and liberty are alluring ideas. They make good preaching anywhere, anytime. Spoken eloquently they will get applause. But, make them alive in action and you will get a filibuster or a cross.

With a little cleverness Jesus could have preached principles unmolested down to an old age but when he transmuted ideas into deeds he stung the reactionaries to madness.

Humanly speaking what sent Jesus to his cross were his attack on the narrow nationalism of his Galilee in that first sermon, his repudiation of race prejudice in Samaria and his assault on commercialized Judaism in the Jerusalem temple where the people were being robbed in the name of religion.

He might have given gems of thought to the despised publicans but to eat with them! He might have told a lot of stories about Samaritans unopposed but to reach across the chasm and touch the foul flesh of a Samaritan leper was carrying charity too far.

Narrow nationalism, race prejudice, economic greed, religious bigotry make it ridiculous to talk about peace, unless Christianity becomes a unifying instead of a divisive force in the earth.

Organized religion is an obstacle to world peace. There are expressions of fraternalism but confidentially each group of churchmen does not see how anyone can possibly attain to their spiritual culture or insights unless born or converted to their cult. Instead of confronting our positions with scientific analysis to decide what is true or false, we assert that anyone who belongs to our crowd knows we have the truth. It is axiomatic, not open to debate. Yet a study anywhere would reveal things that have had their day and ceased to be significant for religion or life. Most of us are contented dogmatists.

The Winds of Doctrine

Protestant scholarship at the recent Washington Conference on Christian unity seemed to be trying to work from the outside in. "Theology" must be vindicated. The winds of doctrine roared in the caverns of their minds. Thinking about religion is important but it is not religion. "Ritualism" must be retained as evolved down the years. Forms of worship may be a means to reverence or not, but they are not religion. The moral nature at times seemed to be subordinated to agile intellect.

Much in ecclesiastical customs, traditions and beliefs are irrelevant as soon as one seeks the central truth of Christ's life, spirit and teachings. The central truth cannot be easily found from the outside in but from the inside out. Starting first with Christ much present ecclesiastical luggage would be dropped.

What meaning from the life of Jesus can one give to the recent theatricals by pope and cardinals, or as a commentator reported, "to the colorful ballet-like march of the cardinals to get their rings?" The splendor and magnificence will not mean spiritual understanding but confirm the political, temporal power and ambitions of the church. Here is a bold assertion of aggression in the name of the church and this new Consistory is a formal mobilization for the struggle. This is troubling news.

At the Oxford Conference a delegate reported that every time they got to a place where practical social-action was to be taken some heavily gowned brother from the Eastern Orthodox Church would rise with an immense bejeweled

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cross on his chest and say that we must remember that the central thing is the veneration of the virgin.

Take Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. Instead of seeking the dynamic of Christianity which is redemptive both to the individual and society they contend to validate their traditions or historical assumptions. The more the ecclesiastical mounts the more moral values sink.

The hundreds of Protestant sects have little disposition to lose themselves that they may find themselves. They thank God that they are not like these other people. You would think that they had never heard of "one body in Christ and everyone members one of another." Do you remember the old story of the three churches on the village square which had their choir rehearsals on the same night. The Baptists began to sing, "Will there be any stars in my crown." The Presbyterians began to sing, "No, Not one." And the Methodists began to shout, "That will be glory for me." Well, it is not quite that bad but still the point of emphasis is false.

A study of the religions of this "one world" reveals that most of the features of orthodox Christianity are found in the chief non-Christian religions. Beliefs in inspired books, miracles, the divinity of the founder, his expected return, prayer, doctrine of salvation, sacred pilgrimages and relic worship are found everywhere.

What is the distinctive mark of the religion of Jesus? Certainly not the pomp of ecclesiastical royalty born of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, or the stark asceticism of the escapist, or the sensualism of the emotionalist. It is not in externals anywhere. It might be a help if the churches should discover that when at the annual Passover Feast with his close friends Jesus said: "Whenever you do this remember me" he really meant that once a year they would give the celebration this new meaning. He seems little interested that men should worship him but deeply concerned that they should enlist in his cause. If we should concentrate research in this field of externals and fearlessly renounce all that is irrelevant to a direct following of Christ we would be led to deeper reverence and might find what makes Christianity Christian. Christianity needs reorientation to the Jesus of history.

Tolerance Towards Intolerance

What is it without which Christianity would not be Christian at all? There is one thing, not wholly original, but so central in the Master's teaching and so dominant in the movement that it is supreme. The mark of Christianity is its reverence for personality. Anything that hinders personality is sin. Christianity is true to itself only when it moves from persons out into life situations. Situations are made for men and not men for situations. The genius of Christianity is that it is an ethical religion.

A German Protestantism that thought it could concern itself with the "souls" of the people and leave all else to the state was a false psychology and a betrayal of ethics in a morally grounded universe. The Roman Catholic idea of freedom of worship,—to demand it until strong enough to deny it,—is a denial of both freedom and democracy. Peace is scuttled by the thesis-practice philosophy that permits the pronouncement of high ideals and then the evasion of them in practice when power, prestige or property become involved. Spain and Argentina are illustrations. "Franco is a Christian gentleman and son of the church." Colonel Peron, when war minister, commissioned the Virgin Mary a full general, decorated her images with the full insignia and ordered every soldier passing such a church to halt and salute. He has had the open support of the church. Tolerance towards intolerance and superstition condones the evils.

It is ridiculous to talk of peace with institutionalized religion more concerned with externals and success than service to persons.

There is a lot of goodwill but not the acceptance by the churches of the law of goodwill as the one absolute in morals. This would put far in the background the traditions, conventions, customs, beliefs that are clearly irrelevant to the real issues of life everywhere. The Federal Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches are heading right but for the sake of getting on they nonchalantly accept and carry a lot of mildewed baggage that continues superstition, bigotry and intolerance in the name of Christ.

A striking implementation is found in the enforced unity, the nonsectarian message and modernized programs of the best foreign mission fields where pragmatic living precedes philosophical interpretation.

Peace demands fearless examination of "the sacred" extraneous matters and frank assertion of the claims of persons and the law of goodwill as first and last. In the name of Christ let us acknowledge the secondary place of all else. Even Baptism should mean the acceptance of a fellowship and Communion a commitment to a cause. We would retain the minds that count if we challenged lives with militant morality. All worship should be a cleansing preparation for action. The false individualism of Protestantism that leaves a man alone with God is not Christian. Jesus taught that one can not be right with God until he is right with his fellows. True evangelism becomes social passion. Organized religion in the earth is often a sorry obstacle to peace in the earth.

It is ridiculous to talk of peace, unless we have the vision and loyalty to rise above narrow nationalism to a sense of world citizenship. Everyone is supposed to love his country and to be ready to die for it. Ours is the greatest history and ours the greatest heroes. We know this is nonsense. Every organized nation has deeds and heroes as great to them as any to us. But you keep on saying that and you come to think that it was a divine providence that made you an American and not some other.

The Highest Diplomacy

We were a narrow provincial nation until the first world war. We came out believing we should league for peace, but isolationist interests prevailed. The second world war has burned in the necessity for a union of the nations. Now, when we might hope for world peace narrow national interests born of greed or fear again bedevil us. If our nation had but one policy,—the defense of persons in their rights to life as human beings everywhere on the earth, there could be world peace. Every nation can be left to work for their own people in their own way provided it is work for the people. The highest diplomacy is not national advantage but the defense of the rights of peoples. Nationalism means my country right or wrong. Patriotism means such love of country as to seek its advantages for all men. The law of goodwill obeyed will save a nation. Its disobedience will destroy it. No American can be an adequate citizen who is not internationally minded. Otherwise we have not the basis to see that the claims of human beings everywhere are greater than the claims of sovereignty anywhere. The nation that tries to save itself will lose itself. The nation that loses itself for others will save itself. Not long ago this would have been thought lovely dreaming. Today leaders in army, navy, government and business declare that our only hope is in moral obedience.

Do we expect such world vision and loyalty to children, women and men? Ideals must become deeds. Secretary of State Byrnes made a forthright statement that sounds well and may be sound. This is the test. Who stands across the path of fascism everywhere? Who is against the exploitation of imperialism? Who insists on the rights of colonial

peoples? Who practices racial tolerance and cooperation? Not who professes democracy but who lives democracy. Holier than thou is a self defeating attitude.

A sound national policy will put us actively, at one time, opposed to the position of Russia, at another time against England or Spain or Holland or Argentina, etc. Nothing is gained by nations screaming at each other. Let diplomacy be confidential and agreements open. We need less negative antagonism to the ways of others and positive faith and daring adventure in democracy as we see it. To make democracy work is the only answer to the undemocratic anywhere. We can not be for world understanding, but! We are or we are not. Winston Churchill's speech in Missouri reveals why he was not returned to office. Right now fear and need for security make diplomacy a crisis of confidence. Narrow nationalism ridicules our hope for world peace.

It is ridiculous to talk of peace, unless we cease the unthinking acceptance of the economic system into which we happen to be born. The Greeks said you could not have a civilized society without slavery. The feudal lords said you could not have a decent society without the rulership of the blood worthy. We say no free world without free enterprise. Capitalism is our national faith. The Protestant Church is largely its creation. The system has brought men more gadgets for comforts and nice amenities than any system to date but it is today on the defensive. Instead of honest research to learn its weaknesses and strengths we hold it as men did the divine right of kings. To criticize it is to defame oneself. To seek change, to the un-American Committee of Congress, is to be a Communist. Of course this is nonsense.

The only defense of any economy is that it meets the material needs of its people. We are in one of those transition periods of history when social, political and economic institutions are changing rapidly. Authoritative sources insist that now we have the natural resources, productive plant, the inert energy, the labor skills to secure adequate food, shelter, clothing, education and medical care for all. No longer can we have political democracy without economic democracy. What we need is not less but more democracy. From now on it must be men before money, persons before property. Economic power and privilege will fight the more abundant life for all and so far have had the support of most of the churches. Jesus starts with the rights of persons to live as children of God. How many good men have said, "Leave Jesus out of this." He said, "Seek ye first the rule of God and his righteousness and all these things will be added." The only way, then, to know that the Kingdom of God is coming is to see these things being added.

Institutionalized religion talks human rights but only seeks them as they are convenient to its safety. White-collar preachers speak to white-collar congregations as though the demands of the aroused masses throughout the world for freedom from fear and want were dangerous radicalism. Christianity's message of the dignity of man is what has aroused the peoples regardless of religion, race or clime to turn the world upside down as the New Testament said it would.

Power and Privilege

It is ridiculous to talk about peace if most churchmen in self interest of power and privilege consciously or unconsciously oppose more abundant life for all. "Freedom from want" is a deeply spiritual slogan. We are moving into a mixed economy where justly balanced relations between government, labor and management are essential to peace.

It is ridiculous to talk of peace, unless we are willing to learn to live together in cooperation and good-will in spite of racial differences. There is not space for extended comment here except to suggest that prejudice is "being down on what you are not up on." We never lift ourselves up by

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“the shape of things to come”

President Harry S. Truman,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Churchill's self-righteous, pharisaic speech is a major disservice to the common people and peace of the world. Churchmen following the prophets and Jesus cannot accept identification of the old status quo with Christian civilization or the will of an ethical God. His program would split and destroy UNO in its infancy, begin an atomic armament race and lead all mankind to unprecedented catastrophe. Your presence in Fulton added weight to this dangerous speech. We urge you to disassociate yourself from Churchill's Tory speech and outlook. It completely repudiates all that you and Roosevelt stood for in the elections. We urge you to make this disassociation speedily while there is yet time to ward off the perilous consequences otherwise to be expected.

This is the telegram which Jack McMichael, Executive Secretary of the Federation, sent to President Truman the day after former Prime Minister Winston Churchill delivered his call to World War III at Fulton, Missouri.

The first thing we must be clear about is that Mr. Churchill made his speech with the support of President Truman and the United States State Department. President Truman later denied knowing what was in the speech—a strategic retreat to a previously prepared position. But, as Dorothy Thompson says in a column otherwise supporting the Churchill-Truman thesis, the speech was edited and re-edited in Washington and had the general support of the United States government. It correctly mirrors the tone and direction of Anglo-American policy vis a vis the Soviet Union and is in accord with Secretary of State Byrnes' statement of a new “firm” policy towards the Soviet. If President Truman is able to “disassociate” himself from Churchill's speech, as our telegram calls upon him to do, it will be the greatest feat of legerdemain since Houdini. For a former senator from Missouri it may be possible, but the successful execution of it will fool nobody.

Looking at world events since V-J day through the magnifying glass of the Churchill speech, a definite pattern appears. “Operation Musk-Ox” . . . “Operation Crossroads” . . . Canadian spy-scare . . . Iran . . . Franco . . . Mutiny at Karachi . . . Mukden, “Looted City” . . . Indonesia. . .

The pieces fit. And the pattern is war.

Behind the façades of the Foreign Offices, where the diplomats linger over brandy and cigars and listen to the soft chatter of the decoding machines, the argument runs something like this: It is now or never. We are stronger now than we will ever be; Russia is weaker now, with much of her industrial establishment smashed, than she will ever be again. We have the atomic bomb now and Russia hasn't but in five years, ten years, Russia will have it too. So let us be “firm” now, and if that means war, let us have it now rather than later. The appeal of Communism to the exploited masses in our colonial empires is strong and getting stronger, if we are to hang on to our empires Communism must be eliminated now. It is capitalist democracy against Soviet socialism, and never the twain shall meet. It is us or them. Now or never.

This is not only Churchill reasoning. It is also Anglo-American-Vatican reasoning, and the spiritual motif, the “Holy War” theme, will be played, with all stops out, on the great Roman organ. It is one of the ironies of history that

the Vatican must now call on two traditionally “heretical” (Protestant) countries to redress the balance of an anti-clerical Europe.

M.F.S.S. ACTION—Write or wire President Truman and the Secretary of State expressing your opposition to a “Holy War” against the Soviet Union. Do this as individuals and as conference or local chapters of the M.F.S.S. Preach about it from your pulpits. Discuss it in your Youth Fellowship groups. Write letters to your local newspapers. Join with other groups and individuals in organizing local action in opposition to war.

The first and most important piece in the pattern is, of course, the atomic bomb. Like mad-men with an insane light in our eyes we dangle this God-like weapon over the heads of the peoples, ignorant alike of its significance and possibilities. Most of the original scientists who worked on the nuclear fission project have quit, aghast at what they have done, and some of them have called on us to destroy the bombs we have made, make no more bombs or even think about making them, and get about the rebuilding of Nagasaki and Hiroshima as a sign of repentance for our crime against humanity in having used the bomb at all. Others have urged the importance, the necessity, of sharing our knowledge with all of the world's scientists so that our knowledge may be dedicated to life and not to death.

But the army mind, which would still be waging war with halberds and cutlasses if it had been left alone, hugs this product of civilian research to its bosom, forbids American scientists to talk to foreign scientists, not only Russian but Swiss, French, Czech, and not only about the bomb but about anything, and with it apparently hopes to threaten the world into doing the will of the Anglo-American General Staffs.

And the Navy, realizing that if we throw an atomic bomb at “somebody”, “somebody” may throw one back, plans “Operation Crossroads” at Bikini Atoll to see just what the Thing will do to battleships—and incidentally to intimidate the rest of the world. “Operation Crossroads” will prove nothing, for it doesn't matter that an atomic bomb can or cannot dissolve a battleship. Hiroshima and Nagasaki have already shown us what uranium and its deadly gamma rays can do to cities and men. If the Navy wants a real test, instead of exploding an atomic bomb over a fleet in Bikini Atoll, let the Navy plant a man with an atomic bomb

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**The METHODIST FEDERATION
for SOCIAL SERVICE**
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in a suitcase in Lisbon and then try to keep him from getting to Chicago and renting a hotel room.

Gentlemen, says Lewis Mumford in a solemn editorial in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, we are mad. And the measure of our madness is that we do not see—as our scientists keep telling us—that unless we share the atomic secret with all the world, it will destroy us. To paraphrase old John Donne, the bell that tolled for the dead of Hiroshima did not toll for them alone, but for us and for all men.

M.F.S.S. ACTION—Write or wire your congressman, President Truman, and the Secretary of State, urging that civilian scientists and not army brass hats be put in control of atomic bomb research, and that all nuclear fission research and knowledge be made the common property of all members of the UNO and held in trust for humanity.

The other pieces in the pattern all fit easily enough, but they are not so important. "Operation Musk-Ox" is a tactical plan for arctic warfare against Russia. The Canadian "spy-scare", as George Fielding Eliot pointed out in his column recently, is much ado about nothing. Every great power and most of the lesser ones are constantly engaging in espionage and seeking to learn all the military secrets of other powers. The Soviets have agents—apparently rather inept ones—in Ottawa. The Soviets also have agents in London, Washington, Buenos Aires, Mexico City, Madrid, Paris, Tokyo, Chungking. So have we. So has everybody. And all of them—ours as well as theirs—are trying to find out all they can about everything. It's a game, and the only time a great power ever exposes it or professes to be indignant about it is when it wants to inflame its own public. The piece fits, but it's not important.

The pieces involving the colonial peoples fit exactly. The Indian naval revolt at Karachi, riots in Bombay, the war in Indonesia, all add up to ferment and unrest among the exploited masses of the world. Some of the agitation of course comes from Communist sources. That is because Communists are in earnest. They aren't playing for fun, they are playing for keeps. Instead of howling about Communist agitators for colonial freedom, wouldn't it be nice if we could send some democratic agitators to India and Indonesia as a fraternal gesture from the heirs of the American Revolution? Or some Christian agitators for freedom, in the name of the revolution which overthrew the Roman Empire and exalted the common man?

But no. To many Americans, as to many Christians, the only good revolution is a dead revolution—that is, one that took place a long time ago, long enough ago to enable us to forget the blood and remember only the songs and noble phrases. Our fathers died to extend Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights, the sons are now called upon to die to prevent their extension.

The Franco piece apparently doesn't fit. Only apparently. Actually, it fits very well. After all, Spain must be kept as a possible base for Anglo-American operations against a new Red "Fortress Europa", and that means that it must be kept reactionary. So we appease France and the world's anti-fascists by denouncing Franco, but we inhibit any action against him by calling for a continuation of the old, discredited "non-intervention" formula by means of which we put him into power in the first place. And we oppose bringing the Spanish issue before UNO. But Dutch longshoremen refuse to load Franco ships and Italian mechanics refuse to service Franco planes, even when they are carrying "Princes of the Church", and French "maquis" join their Spanish Republican comrades in raids across the border. So we may be forced to further "action" (words) against Franco, the while we hope for a restoration of the monarchy or some other "care-taker" government that will keep Spain as a bastion against Soviet expansion towards Africa and South America.

The war, when and if it comes, will be disastrous for us all. It will be disastrous because it will be a war of the Anglo-Saxon capitalist democracies against not only the Soviet Union, but against all the rising colonial peoples of the world—against 350,000,000 Indians and 60,000,000 Indonesians and 400,000,000 Chinese, to say nothing of the millions of European peasants in Poland and Germany and Italy and Jugo-Slavia who have tasted freedom and who will not be shunted back into monarchical bondage by any Anglo-American-Vatican combination if they can help it. It will be morally disastrous because alongside us in this "Crusade for a New World Order" in reverse will be such pure Galahads as Franco, Peron, the Grand Mufti, Kings Peter, Zog, and George, Generals Bor and Anders, Victor Emanuel, Salazar of Portugal, and heaven knows who else. And leading the dancing in the streets will be William Randolph Hearst, Colonel Robert McCormack, Sen. Burton Wheeler, Congressman Rankin, Father Coughlin, Gerald L. K. Smith and every other race-hater and Russia-baiter in the United States.

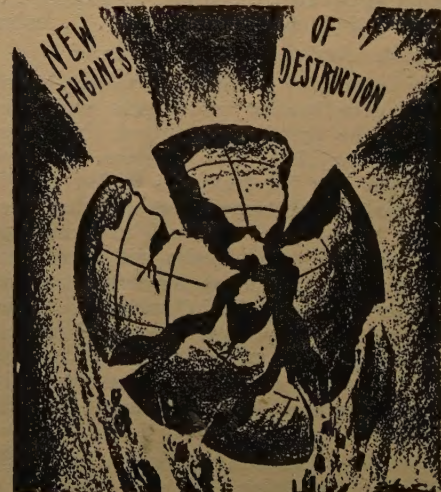
Moreover, it is a war that the Anglo-American-Vatican combination will lose, because nobody can be against the people of the world and win. We may not like to think that the plain people of the world—Indians, Chinese, Africans,—would side with Communism against democratic capitalism, but they will. And we will lose whether or not, with the technical help of the atomic bomb, we win temporarily.

The time to stop this is now. The pattern making for war must be smashed—now, before it is too late. It must be smashed by sharing the atomic secret with the other members of the UNO. It must be smashed by evicting Franco from Madrid and giving active assistance to the Spanish people in restoring their republic—and by ignoring the pious howls and lamentations that will go up from Rome at this. It must be smashed by ending oil imperialism in Palestine, Iran, and the Near East. It must be smashed by the abrupt termination of our "un-official" official tie with the Vatican—the center of world reaction. It must be smashed by the withdrawal of Anglo-American troops from places where they are sitting on the lid of native revolt against imperialism.

There is some smashing to be done on the Soviet side, too, for peace is not a one-way street. But what is to be done there is for someone on that side to say.

The Churchill speech has served a purpose. We have been stumbling in the dark, not knowing which way we were headed or what was before us. The speech has cut thru the darkness like a searchlight and shown us the road we travel and where it leads. It is not too late to turn aside and walk in the paths of peace.

Pray God it may be so.—A. J. S.



—Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch
If We Don't Invent a Lasting Peace.

Religion and Labor Join Hands in Detroit

WILLARD UPHAUS *

"The one agency on which we can pin our hope for a solution of our fundamental economic problem is organized labor." So declared Dr. Henry N. Wieman, Professor of the Philosophy of Religion at the University of Chicago, at the closing session of the National Religion and Labor Conference at Detroit, February 25-26. Dr. Wieman based his conviction on the three following points:

1. By their very nature and by the nature of our economy, the unions cannot get for workers what they themselves want and need without doing the same thing for us all. In lifting the level of their existence they improve the general economic well-being.

2. Labor's struggle is a life and death struggle. To gain their ends workers must stick together no matter what happens. The fight requires toughness and tenacity not found in other organizations which break up more easily. Beaten down again and again, labor rises just as often to fulfill the aspirations of workers for a decent existence.

3. Irrepressible technological development lifts organized labor to ever increasing power. Our culture automatically brings more power into the hands of labor.

Conflicts Are Symptomatic

Referring to the discussions in the five conference workshops where the tensions between religions, races, nations and classes had been considered, Dr. Wieman asserted that the one primary pre-condition for resolving these conflicts, which are symptomatic, is the releasing of the full potential of our economy, with full production and full employment. "Why this racism? Why the concealment and deception, the deep fear of the atomic bomb?" asked the speaker. "It goes back to the struggle for control of industrial production," was his answer.

Dr. Wieman was careful to show that the economic reorganization of society is not enough to solve our problem. "The reason we have no interfaith action is that the different faiths cannot combine their faiths. We must find a faith which is not a faith at all. We must get something going in our modern life that gives a profound sense of its meaning. We must be lifted and drawn by something great." The speaker breathed a prayer that labor—this one and only agency—wake up soon enough, sense its mission deeply enough, strongly enough, to accept the responsibility that is in keeping with its power. Labor was the one group in Europe that could have stopped Hitler, but it failed.

"Even though we blunder and make mistakes, in God's name, let's have a sequence of conferences. Even though labor is hard pressed, let it select, prepare, and release leaders to help us on occasions like this," Dr. Wieman plead in closing.

The Church and Labor—Allies for Freedom

The new spirit and attitude now at work in the churches and unions in America was deeply felt at Detroit. Three hundred representatives of Religion and Labor, a fifth of them young people, came from sixteen states and Canada in response to the Call issued by eighteen national religious and labor bodies. The Call pointed out unequivocally that Religion and Labor are *natural* and *necessary* allies in the struggle for freedom, and that a meeting in Detroit, a scene of actual crisis, was imperative. Real freedom for all, the Call declared, depends upon many specific freedoms—freedom through interfaith action, through race equality and respect for minorities, through full production, full employment and people's purchasing power, through full access to

facts, and freedom through universal access to atomic energy, abolition of war and worldwide democracy.

The opening session on Monday afternoon dramatized a growing solidarity on the part of the different faiths and various branches of labor in the economic realm. The Very Rev. Kirk B. O'Ferrall, Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in Detroit, greeted the delegates as "the two great forces that must come together to mold a new and better world." Rabbi Leon Fram of Temple Israel, Detroit, who presided told the delegates that their relation was as old as organized religion itself, and cited the Fourth Commandment calling for six days of work and a day of rest as the first full employment bill and a very forward piece of social legislation for its day. Harry C. Read of Washington, prominent Catholic trade unionist and Executive Assistant to CIO Secretary-Treasurer, James Carey, declared that the slave revolt in the Exodus from Egypt is a good biblical precedent for labor's action today.

Harvey Morse, Business Agent for the Cooks' Union in Detroit, representing the AFL, paralleled church and labor responsibility, expressed deep satisfaction over the improvement in relationship, and assured the conference that labor gladly anticipates more aggressiveness on the part of the church.

The Rev. Charles C. Webber, of Richmond, Virginia, Methodist clergyman and former Field Secretary of the MFSS, now organizing for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, made the closing address of the afternoon session. He laid bare the anti-social nature of our profit-motivated system by pointing to the contradiction between the vast concentrations of wealth on the one hand and low wages, poverty and unemployment on the other. He strongly urged an advance in social ownership and democratic control of segments of our economy, and listed specific forms of social and labor legislation for which the church and labor should take joint action. He cited the development of all the major river valleys of the world along the lines of the TVA as one promising area of advance.

The Monday evening session, open to the public, added greatly to the inspiration and source materials for conference deliberation. Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein, Chicago, made an analysis of the present-day middle-class mind. "This is an era of split personalities," he declared, "in which many in the church and synagogue who tend to be liberal relish the prestige that comes from Chamber of Commerce and Rotary connections, but at the same time realize they are playing with reactionary forces that may be sowing the seeds of fascism and anti-Semitism. As religious leaders, we must gain the confidence of these people and align them with the forces of social progress without giving in to them—a very difficult feat, he admitted. The problem is always eased by indicating that an economy of abundance is a way out, in which resolving conflicts in labor-management relations is not one of one group dispossessing the other, but of all sharing equitably in the larger abundance.

Much of the serious preoccupation of the conference with the implications of atomic energy was due to Dr. Henry Hitt Crane's stirring report of a recent meeting of religionists and scientists in Chicago, at which the scientists, thoroughly frightened by their own labors, called on the clergy for help in interpreting the dire peril confronting civilization. "Now we are face to face with the ultimate logic of violence," asserted Dr. Crane, "when we see that they that take up the sword also perish by the sword."

Workshops Encourage Full Democratic Participation

Much of the drive of the conference went into the five workshops into which the delegates divided for a spirited

* Dr. Willard Uphaus is the Executive Sec'y. of the Religion and Labor Foundation, with headquarters in New Haven, Conn.

discussion of the issues we face today and for the framing of resolutions and plans for action.

Workshop I, on "Freedom Through Interfaith Action" sought diligently for a basis of action on the part of the faiths that would join them "in the struggle, on the side of those who work for a living, against injustice, exploitation, discrimination, and man-made obstacles to the attainment of peace, prosperity and opportunity for all." This group urged that since the over-all and specific aims of organized labor are known to be, as a general rule, in accord with the moral law and the principles of social and economic justice, that all persons of religious faith study labor's objectives, and, insofar as these are clearly consonant with moral principles, to support them in every constructive way. These objectives include—full employment, full production, adequate wages guaranteed on an annual basis, vacations with pay, social security for all, sickness and old age benefits, public health facilities and services. The members of the workshop held that there could be areas of cooperative action that would recognize and respect distinctions drawn by the teachings of different faiths.

The second workshop dealt with "Freedom Through Racial Equality and Respect for Minorities." Holding that racial prejudice and discrimination have their roots in fear based on economic and social security, its report struck at joblessness, unfair employment practices, inadequate housing and medical care, as the principal sources of trouble. It called upon the conference delegates to fight discrimination in restaurants, hotels, recreational facilities, and schools; to rid our cities of property restrictive covenants and segregatory patterns; to remove school textbooks prejudicial to minorities and to recognize the relationship between growing anti-Semitism and the rising tide of reaction. It laid down a challenge to organized religion and large sections of labor by calling for integrated memberships that would completely eliminate racial segregation.

The largest number of delegates chose Workshop III on "Freedom Through Full Production, Full Employment and People's Purchasing Power." At the very outset this group challenged the principal assumptions that have characterized the economic thinking of the past. In refuting these assumptions, it affirmed that:

1. Labor is not a commodity, and human rights must take precedence over property rights.
2. Social gains are not to accrue merely as a by-product of the quest for profit; instead, industrial control must be viewed as a public trust and charged with social responsibility.
3. No economic system will survive that does not achieve an economy of abundance.
4. The doctrine of laissez faire is completely inadequate and untenable for our modern highly complex and interrelated economic system.
5. The nation's economy is indivisible; wages, prices, profits must be tied together in a way that maintains a balanced relationship between purchasing power and production.

To implement the foregoing principles and objectives this group called for over-all national planning of our total economy on a democratic basis. This planning would make room for full employment, with provision for the annual wage, the Cooperative Movement, public corporations that would afford valid economic yardsticks, the insuring of the social benefits of patents, development of backward areas, nationally and internationally, and honest acceptance and operation of free collective bargaining.

This section of the conference hurled a criticism at the Church, when it called on it "to accept its full measure of responsibility for the social needs of the people", "to go beyond its present almost purely ameliorative activities", and assume "a redemptive responsibility, at whatever cost, for eradicating the roots of economic, political, racial and other evils which warp and blight and frustrate human per-

sonality, or deny to men the environmental conditions for a rich and meaningful life."

Starting with the assumption that a democratic society can function effectively only through a well-informed people, the members of Workshop IV on "Freedom Through Full Access to Facts" outlined a long list of valuable recommendations for action to improve the major information services—the Press and Radio. The recommendations include: letter campaigns to newspapers, commendations or protests to commentators, regular group study of current events, use of documentary films, encouragement to both church and labor editors to print more news and articles on current national issues, essay contests in high schools, and dramatic presentations of social problems.

One resolution called for the formulation of Fact Finding Committees on a national level, whose purpose would be to serve future conferences of the nature of the one at Detroit and to make their findings available to all religious and labor organizations. The Religion and Labor Foundation was called upon to prepare and disseminate an annotated bibliography on current social problems, and to form a committee to work with Religious News Service on issues of religion and labor.

Conference Feels Impact of Atomic Era

The issues thrust upon us by the new era of atomic energy were at the heart of almost everything said in Workshop V on "Worldwide Democracy." It condemned our Government for pursuing a course of isolated military might, calculated to bring fear and suspicion to other nations, particularly the Soviet Union, and urged the delegates, acting as individuals and as members of religious and labor groups, to communicate with appropriate public officials asking that the manufacture and storage of Atomic Bombs cease, that our Government take steps at once to transfer control of the Bomb and all information concerning it to the proper agency in the UNO. The conference was asked to help defeat the May-Johnson and Ball Bills, with their threat of military dictatorship, and to support legislation such as the MacMahon Bill which embodies democratic principles.

The group held that compulsory military training is out of harmony with the facts of an atomic age, declared against universal peacetime conscription and advocated a policy looking toward universal disarmament. It called upon our nation, born on the basis of rejecting foreign and colonial rule, to use its influence within the UNO to the end that all colonial territory and peoples be administered within the framework of the Trusteeship Council of the UNO, where such administration is in accordance with the wishes of the peoples concerned. Our nation, it held, might well prove its sincerity by immediately granting to the Puerto Rican people the opportunity freely to decide for themselves their political future.

The recent disgraceful Senate filibuster against the FEPC was cited as proof that we do not yet understand that "solid international understanding and cooperation demand a structure of brotherly cooperation and democratic equality between the peoples within the individual nations." The conference was asked to communicate with Secretary of State Byrnes urging him to help prove the sincerity of our nation in relation to the UNO by issuing a statement supporting a permanent FEPC. We are ever to impress upon our Government that when it joined the UNO it accepted the Charter as a part of the governmental system of the United States, and that it must now accept its full responsibility for working on the multiplied problems of the world through the various branches of the UNO.

That all sections of the conference anticipated the mind of the entire body was proved by the fact that the plenary session adopted all workshop reports, almost without change. There were two exceptions. A recommendation that further conferences be initiated by an independent body of citizens "so that all faiths may feel free to participate without com-

promise of their specific teachings and commitments as religious bodies, organizations or institutions" was voted down, and a motion passed instead, by a big majority, that "the Religion and Labor Foundation serve as the instituting organization, but that in certain instances, as in Detroit, the Foundation inspire experiments carried on with cooperating agencies and through local civic groups." A resolution that "warm greetings be sent on behalf of this conference to the World Federation of Trade Unions" was withdrawn out of deference to the AFL. The resolution had been inspired by the recent attack by Senator Tom Connally on the WFTU.

There is little room in this article to describe the scenes behind the preparation for the conference. There were alternating periods of exaltation and despair. The number of co-sponsoring national religious and labor bodies broke all records, and the national representatives of these bodies, insofar as they could arrange to meet in committee, were remarkably successful in finding common ground. It was the Detroit sponsoring committee that dramatized the explosive political tensions in the city. Many discussions were complicated, not only by fundamental ideological differences, but by personal animosities, lack of confidence and worry over prestige. Had I not been hardened by previous experience, I would have been stunned at the complete finality with which one group could consign the other to outer darkness. There were those who would see the human race damned, if it cannot be saved through their particular formulas. The gulf between the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists and left-wing groups, including certain CIO Locals and The People's Institute of Applied Religion, could not be bridged. The result was—no official Catholic participation. A few Catholics, acting unofficially, made genuine contributions to the conference. One courageous Father maintained that as long as the conference worked in the realm of temporal affairs having to do with the economic needs of man he could and would work with anyone. A few Protestant clergymen and laymen took active part, but Protestantism, as a whole in Detroit, seemed aloof and unaware. It is still bogged down in an ecclesiastical isolationism and economic conservatism that closes its eyes to the crisis right at the door.

We needed more labor participation than we received. Many Detroit and Michigan CIO leaders were preoccupied with strikes, negotiations, and legislative matters in Lansing and Washington. Local AFL leadership was more cooperative than in any joint effort with which I have ever been connected. A number gave time generously to committee work, and the full strength of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor was used to win the endorsement of William Green, though without success. The Detroit Religion and Labor Fellowship is on the way to becoming a progressive unifying agency in the city, and its influence was felt.

All in all, it seems to me that some doubters came in for disillusionment. Those who were wary about working with left-wingers weathered the experience without noticeable damage to themselves, and while the total attendance may have been affected slightly by the inclusive nature of the gathering, there was no organized effort on the part of anyone to torpedo the conference. On the other hand, left-wing members who ordinarily live in constant dread of compromise or lean to bitterness and contempt made their real contribution. The entire assembly included everyone from the middle-of-the roaders who were a bit afraid to associate with radicals to the radicals themselves who felt they were wasting their time with an innocuous proceeding. Although I inwardly very much react against an inclusiveness that weakens findings and discourages the most daring action, I do believe that experiments like that in Detroit need to be repeated again and again to help those who are against fascism and for economic democracy and the brotherhood of man to meet one another, to clarify their positions, and

to form the toughest possible resistance to impending reaction.

A fact of great significance to readers of the Social Questions Bulletin is that more than a fourth of the delegates were Methodists. This is a tribute to influential progressive forces in Methodism, and especially to the effective cooperation of the MFSS. Among the Methodists present at Detroit were: Dr. Edwin A. Brown, Rev. Charles Bayless, Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, Rev. J. A. Gaiser, Rev. Owen M. Geer, Rev. Armand Guerrero, Sidney Harry, Rev. Franklin H. Littell, Dr. and Mrs. Frederick Poole, Rev. Jack R. McMichael, Rev. Peter Palches, Miss Eleanor Neff, Miss Marian L. Norris, Anthony Tashnick, Rev. J. Purie Newell, Mrs. G. M. Pomeroy, and Rev. Charles C. Webber.

M.F.S.S. ACTION—Discover whether or not there is a local of the Religion and Labor Foundation in your community. If so, join with it in setting up a local conference similar to the one in Detroit of which Dr. Uphaus writes.

It Is Ridiculous to Talk of Peace--Unless

(Continued from page 48)

pushing others down. The measure of our personal culture is the breadth of our appreciation be it about the arts or the races. History asserts that all that any need is a chance. Here is our cruelty and our paganism. We withhold the chance in every name but the name of Christ who interprets life as a family, God and his children. He makes this intolerance a fratricidal crime. Organized religion is shot through with this intolerance and makes talk of peace ridiculous.

Jesus did not say blessed are the peace singers, prayers, resolvers, wishers but blessed are the peace makers. To take up our cross and follow Him today is to struggle for freedom from religious bigotry, narrow nationalism, economic greed and racial intolerance; to work for the subordination of all customs, traditions, dogmas and sacraments to this one passion. If the church is to be the church it will not be by mystical assumptions and assertions of divinity but by acknowledging ourselves as children of God and then acting like it.

I did not select this subject but it may prove the highest spiritual exercise to see ourselves as ridiculous provided we study to show ourselves proved, workmen that need not be ridiculous, rightly dividing the essential from the nonessential. The atomic age, as the Committee of Scientists asserts, is only a new test of persons against principalities and powers.

Ye ask a sign that may men's doubt remove;
Signs man hath always had My power to prove—
Signs that he daily sees with naked eyes—

And crown of all My works since time began,
Evolved from dust—the hand and brain of man.
But as old custom dulls the power to see,
And veils the plainest truths in mystery,

"A sign I give for all the world to see
That I am God and that man lives by Me.
This sign to man a mighty light shall show
Tenfold the strength of fire's intensest glow;
Pour forth a heat unknown on earth before,
More fervent than the sun's candescent core;
Release a power mankind to bless or curse,
The atom power that binds the universe.
This power is thine for man's weal to employ
Or, used for war, thee and thy world destroy.
O wilful man who dared My laws defy,
Behold and tremble; live in peace or die!"

Sir Thomas White

The Truth About Mink Slide

CLARK FOREMAN *

In common with law-abiding people throughout the state and nation, we are appalled at the recent outbreak of violence in Columbia, Tennessee.

The pattern of race hysteria against Negroes which has been set by a small anti-democratic minority in Columbia does not represent the feelings of the people of Tennessee, the great majority of whom believe in fair play and fair opportunity for all, regardless of race.

The facts, which have been largely suppressed or distorted in newspaper accounts, are these:

James C. Stephenson, a 19-year-old Negro veteran just returned from serving his country in the Navy, entered a radio repair shop on the public square with his mother, Mrs. Gladys Stephenson, on Monday, February 25. An argument with the white repairman ensued, in which Mrs. Stephenson was insulted and, according to witnesses, struck by the repairman. The young veteran sprang to the defense of his mother and there was a scuffle, in which the white man was slightly hurt. Both mother and son were then cruelly beaten by bystanders, after which they were arrested.

Late that afternoon, an armed white mob, described by the sheriff as from 50 to 75 persons, stormed the jail with the avowed intention of lynching the Stephensons. We are informed that only two members of this mob were arrested and that these two were released after paying a small fine for "drunkenness."

It was believed by both whites and Negroes that there would be a lynching that night. All night, armed bands of white men roamed the streets. The Negroes sought safety in their homes. Shots were fired into the Mink Slide area from cars driving by on the adjoining street. The Negroes turned off all lights in their area, to avoid presenting an easy target.

A carload of whites drove into the Negro area. Shots were fired. There was no indication that the occupants of the car were officers. The Negroes were acting as any other group would have acted in the same circumstances, to defend their homes and lives against immediate peril of mob violence.

* Clark Foreman is President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

That night a cordon of deputies, state highway patrolmen and state guards surrounded the Negro section. At dawn, they invaded the area and came in shooting. There were indiscriminate mass arrests of 68 Negroes, without regard to their connection or lack of connection with the shots fired at the officers. These arrests were accompanied by brutal maltreatment of the prisoners and a completely unnecessary and purely vengeful vandalism, in which Negro business establishments were wrecked by the officers. The arrests have since grown to 100.

These prisoners have been denied the right to bail. Julius Blair, a 75-year old property owner, was arrested two hours after an attorney had arranged for him to sign bonds for the prisoners.

They have been denied the right of counsel. They have been held incommunicado so that they could not possibly make their own arrangements for counsel. Maurice Weaver, an attorney employed to represent them by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, requested to interview the prisoners in jail and to be present when they were questioned. Both rights were denied by J. J. Underwood, Sheriff of Maury County, and Lynn Bomar, Chief of the Highway Patrol.

On Thursday, February 28, three of the prisoners were shot by law-enforcement officers inside the county jail, while they were being questioned. Two, James Johnson and William Gordon, were killed. Napoleon Stewart was wounded. The officers claim that they fired in self-defense after one of the prisoners grabbed a gun. They have not explained how it happened that prisoners were questioned in a room containing loose guns, nor why the prisoners could not be subdued without being killed, nor what methods of questioning were being used which could drive defenseless prisoners to so desperate and hopeless an extremity.

We have just won a war in which Negro and white Americans fought side by side for democracy and the rights of minorities. Are we going to keep faith with these Negro and white veterans? The eyes of the nation and the world are on what we in Tennessee do about the Columbia cases. Our action must be in line with our national ideals of equal justice and opportunity—not an outgrowth of old prejudices and out-worn antagonisms.

Executive Secretary's Report

Two new people are with us in the national office, and I am glad to use this first occasion to introduce them to our membership: Mrs. Evelyn L. Forster, Office Secretary, and Mrs. Rhoda Rudbarg. Both are loyal and enthusiastic new Federation members. Also they are full of new ideas, a number of which have already been used to improve the looks and efficiency of our office-home. John Wade has gone into full-time student status at Union Theological Seminary, but has given us valuable part-time help since making the transition. Another part-time staff member and full-time student at Union is Ruth Troland who decided to work for the Federation in lieu of the usual student field work.

Trenton Conference

On the evening of February 19th in Trenton, New Jersey, a significant meeting was held, at which a New Jersey Conference MFSS Chapter was initiated and launched. A faithful group of ministers and laymen braved a real snowstorm to attend this meeting, originally planned at the last New Jersey Annual Conference and sponsored by the Conference's official Social Service Commission, of which Rev. W.

Neal Raver is chairman. The newly elected chairman of this new Conference MFSS Chapter is Rev. Paul Friedrich. The participants in the meeting were unanimous in the decision to organize the conference chapter and to accept as an immediate goal the attainment of the conference chapter standards proposed by the Executive Committee (a minimum of 100 voting MFSS members, at least 2 meetings each year at which definite social action is taken, democratic procedure, etc.). All non-members present signed membership cards on a voting basis then and there. We are confident that we will see in this chapter the marked growth on which those who organized the chapter are determined. We look to this new chapter for really great leadership in our nation-wide fellowship.

Religion and Labor in Detroit

On February 25-26 some of us attended in Detroit a significant conference which brought together progressive religionists and laborites to face together some of the more pressing problems on the world scene today. Since this Conference is being written up elsewhere in this issue, space will

not be used here except to say that MFSS was one of the varied religious and labor groups sponsoring and supporting the conference and that Federationists played an active role in the program. Willard Uphaus, A Federation member was the conference's Executive Secretary. Two of the platform speakers were Federationists: Charlie Webber, who did a masterful job on the ethical implications of the struggle between labor and the big corporations in America today; and Henry Hitt Crane, who spoke with conviction and convincingness on the Atomic Bomb and the immeasurable menace of a militaristic and nationalistic policy in relation thereto (cf. the dangerous May-Johnson Bill now before Congress). Others of us had special assignments as resource leaders in the action commissions. The strong group of Federationists present and active included not only a number from the Detroit and Michigan area but District Superintendent J. Pierce Newell, Secretary of our West Wisconsin Chapter; Peter Palches, Pastor of the Memorial Methodist Church in Plymouth, Mass.; Mrs. G. W. Pomeroy (a new MFSS member) from far-away Louisiana, and others. As many of the Federation members as could, got together briefly at the end of one afternoon session and exchanged reports and ideas from respective conference chapters.

In the Office

Here in our Federation office this has been a busy and challenging month. We were up to our necks in the fight for FEPC during the infamous filibuster in the Senate. We have been active also on the whole gamut of other legislative issues (price control extension, minimum wage, social security extension, the Case and other anti-labor bills, the struggle for civilian control of the Atomic Bomb and against peace-time conscription, etc.) As indicated in this issue's editorial, we responded quickly to the Churchill speech with its reactionary and anti-prophetic references to "Christian civilization" and "the will of God" and with its alarming threat to world cooperation, peace and progress.

Federation Activities and Reports

ROCK RIVER CONFERENCE.—At a recent meeting in Chicago the Rock River Conference chapter was reorganized, and tentative plans were made for regular monthly meetings. The first of these was held at the Y.M.C.A., 19 S. LaSalle St., Chicago, on April 1. The agenda included consideration of standards set for Conference chapters of the Federation, a program of action for the Chicago area, and an outline of legislation, both state and national, on which action might be taken.

The chapter will meet again during the session of the Rock River Conference at Aurora, Ill., June 19-22, with tentative plans for a Federation dinner on June 20th.

DETROIT CONFERENCE.—The Social Action Fellowship of the Detroit Annual Conference held a "Social Action Retreat" at the Walnut Street Methodist Church, Howell, Michigan on March 4-5. The Rev. W. Harold Pailthrop, a long-time leader in Federation work in the Detroit Conference, was the pastor-host. The Rev. Owen Geer, pastor at Dearborn, Michigan, was program chairman. The program was informal, with as much time as possible devoted to Christian social-action fellowship—the fellowship of those who are doers of the Word, and not hearers only.

The President of the Detroit Conference chapter, the Rev. Harvey Seifert, resigned recently to take a teaching position in California. The Secretary, Mrs. B. R. Donaldson, was forced to resign because of illness. Until new leadership can be chosen, the Vice-President, the Rev.

Such action taken steadily from our National office in line with the action program adopted by our Executive Committee, clearly has its place. More significant, however, is the action reported to us in thrilling correspondence from many of you: individual members and chapters at the grass roots. (See elsewhere in this issue the encouraging reports of local and conference chapter developments.) Your individual and corporate study and action on these recurring social issues can be decisive in preventing catastrophe and assuring a better day. We are proud of these manifestations of life and activity by individual members and by local and conference grass roots chapters. We want and need more such chapters and more such manifestations.

Conference Chapters

This leads me to remind you that spring conferences are coming. *What plans have you and other Federation members made to assure a Federation Conference Chapter meeting or meetings during or just prior to the conference sessions and with time for concrete action and for discussion and formulation of a chapter program for the period ahead? If there is as yet no definite Conference MFSS Chapter in your Conference, what will you do to see that a meeting of socially concerned men and women in your conference (actual and potential MFSS members) is called specifically to get such a chapter organized? Why should there not be a going conference chapter within every annual conference in Methodism? What a vast difference this would make in our social literacy and effectiveness within the churches! The coming annual conferences can be great occasions for expanding MFSS membership, developing and implementing our program, strengthening our existing chapters and developing new ones; conference and local. We have promotional materials and suggestions to send you on request. Let us hear from you today. What will you do to help?*

Paul Morrison, and Acting Secretary Frank Littell are carrying on the work.

GENESEE CONFERENCE.—The Genesee Conference Chapter of the MFSS held a Retreat at Nunda Methodist Church recently, with 36 men present for the various sessions.

The Rev. J. Wesley Searles, Buffalo District Superintendent, the Rev. Oscar Plumb of Kenmore, the Rev. Ensworth Reisner of Richmond Ave. Church, Buffalo and the Rev. Bradford G. Webster of Gowanda were the program committee, with the Rev. T. S. Alty, of Nunda, in charge of overnight accommodations and meals.

Hugh Thompson, Regional Director for the CIO, was the resource leader in the field of Labor-Management problems. Dr. Lawrence T. Hosie, Director of Social Relations of the Syracuse Council of Churches delivered the principal address on "Technical Implementation of Social Morality".

Those attending were divided into discussion groups to consider specific proposals for social action in such areas as Labor-Management relations, International Relations, and Race Relations, and a significant experiment in group worship was conducted by the Rev. Ensworth Reisner.

A panel discussion on Cooperatives followed by an open forum brought much light on this movement in America, with Mr. Wilfred Everett, of Batavia, a regional executive in the Farm Bureau Insurance field, as the leader.

The Genesee Conference chapter will hold its meeting at the session of the Annual Conference in June.

Social Issues in Today's World

The General Interest

WHEN MARION HARGROVE, soldier-author of the best-seller, "See Here, Private Hargrove" was invited to address the National Association of Manufacturers recently, he chose as his topic "See Here, Private Enterprise". The manufacturers, all set for a humorous address, heard instead a blistering attack on their most sacred cow, "private enterprise". After the meeting Hargrove was assailed by his outraged hosts as "getting too big for his boots", and "who do you think you are, anyway?" Hargrove stuck to his guns.

Naturally, the speech was not "news" to the Associated Press, the United Press, or the big radio chains.

ECONOMIC DEPRESSION IS NOT COMING, it's here. Ask the discharged veteran who is looking for a civilian job. Last month more than 300 veterans in the Philadelphia area alone re-enlisted because, as they told the recruiting officer, they could not find jobs or were dissatisfied with the jobs that were offered them. Said Frank P. Keglovits, former master sergeant in the Air Force: "The best I could find in the line of a job was working as a statistician for \$32 a week. And believe me, that was exceptional pay in comparison with some of the offers I received while I was looking for a job. Employers weren't interested in the experience I gained in the Air Force. I'm convinced that a man without a college degree doesn't have a chance in civilian life".

THE WAR COST THE WORLD \$1,154,000,000,000 for armament and war materials, while property damage amounted to about \$230,900,000,000, according to a war-cost survey.

The survey, prepared by Researcher James H. Brady and the American University, did not include the money spent and the large damage of the ten-year war in China. None of these figures were available.

Mr. Brady figured United States expenditures for war materials at \$317,600,000,000. Russia spent \$192,000,000,000 and the United Kingdom \$120,000,000,000.

The war cost the Axis powers \$468,939,000,000 with Germany spending \$272,900,000, Italy \$94,000,000,000 and Japan \$56,000,000,000.

These figures may be few dollars off here and there.

Labor Concern

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR TO HELP SPAIN'S UNDERGROUND. A promise of material and moral assistance to the Spanish underground was made by the A. F. of L. International Labor Relations Committee recently. Matthew Woll, Committee chairman, assailed the Franco dictatorship as "the last representative of European Nazi-Fascism" and in a letter to the Spanish underground declared:

"We will help you morally and materially and, from now on, we will redouble our efforts to put an end to the historical injustice which the democratic world has allowed to be inflicted on the noble Spanish people. You may have complete assurance, brothers of the Spanish labor movement, that soon Franco will be thrown out of power by the common action of the democratic world and by the increased pressure of the free trade union organizations in whose cause the A. F. of L. works and fights."

It is a consummation devoutly to be wished.

GENERAL MacARTHUR ASKS AID FOR NEW JAPANESE UNIONS. The A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. were called upon last month by General Douglas MacArthur to

aid in the rebuilding of a free trade union movement in Japan. The two labor organizations were asked to select representatives to join a special Labor Committee to make a study of Japanese social and economic conditions.

The labor men will be part of a group of 15, including government and research experts, that will make recommendations on restoring democratic labor organizations, establishment of a social security system, formation of an employment service and possibly a program for redistribution of labor surpluses.

Political freedom, which the Japanese are obtaining in increasing quantities, has been accompanied in the recent months by a real growth of free trade unionism which has made remarkable strides, declared Professor Eberling of Vanderbilt University, who is chairman of the group.

WOMEN WORKERS IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY are rapidly dropping out of the country's labor force, according to the Woman's Bureau of the Department of Labor. Since V-J Day 4,000,000 women have stopped working, some of their own volition and some because of discharge by industry. Last July there were almost 20,000,000 women in the civilian labor force—this includes women in all types of employment, even seasonal workers. As of January this year there were 15,900,000 women in the labor market. This is the first year since 1940 that such a drastic drop has been recorded.

Another indication of the existence of the "forgotten woman" is found in the increase in the numbers that receive unemployment insurance. In New York City on Sept. 14 there were 92,329 women receiving insurance; by Dec. 14 this had nearly doubled, increasing to 169,891. In New York State 211,454 women received insurance on Sept. 14; by Dec. 14 this figure stood at 320,685.



Race Relations

"TELL YOUR JEWISH FRIENDS that the Jews in Germany stuck their necks out too far and Hitler took good care of them and that the same thing will happen here unless they watch their step" a spokesman for the Rankin Un-American Committee told Prof. Clyde Miller of Columbia University recently. "The United States can never become a democracy without amending the Constitution," Ernie Adamson, committee chief counsel, wrote Veterans Against Discrimination, challenging them and Drew Pearson for the use of the word "democracy" in a statement. Thus the Rankin Committee put itself publicly on record as favoring Hitler tactics in America and openly opposing democracy. Several Representatives, among them Hook of Michigan, Savage of Washington, Sabath of Illinois, and DeLacey of Washington have called for the abolition of the committee. The Greater New York Federation of Churches urged more than a million Protestants in the New York area to demand an end to it. If allowed to continue the committee offers an increasingly vicious weapon for anti-labor, anti-semitic, and anti-democratic forces.

IS TOYOHICO KAGAWA A WAR CRIMINAL? In a recent article in the Pacific edition of the Army newspaper, "Stars and Stripes", crack Army reporter Bernard Rubin demanded the eminent Japanese Christian's arrest and trial on the grounds of his war record.

Rubin said that Kagawa, who is the dominant figure in the Japanese Christian Social Democratic Party, represents the extreme right wing of that party, and supports the reactionary feudal emperor system which is largely responsible for Japan's present plight. During the war, says the reporter, Kagawa was bitterly anti-American, made speeches supporting the war, and accepted a post offered him by the imperial government as advisor to the Japanese Philippines Administration, where his knowledge of the United States made him extremely useful.

Evidently the American Army has a soft spot in its heart for Kagawa, however, for Rubin was fired from "Stars and Stripes" after his article appeared on the grounds that he was "communistic".

AN ARRESTING PAMPHLET put out by the Southern Negro Youth Congress is entitled "Would You Smile?" If you were a Negro, asks the pamphlet, would you hold fast to your pride in being an American in spite of daily handicaps? Would you be determined to succeed in spite of the obstacles you faced because of color? Would you work with your fellow Americans, black and white, to build a better world? COULD you smile? Could you smile knowing that, if you *were* a Negro, the chances are three times greater that your mother would have died giving you life? Fifty times greater that you would have died when less than a year old? That you could expect to die ten years before a white American born on the same day? That, if you live in the South, your family income would be less than one-half that of your white neighbors? That your total education would probably be less than six years of schooling from underpaid teachers in run-down school houses?

Well, the pamphlet concludes, you would work with all your fellowmen to build a better world. You would *try* to smile.

Federation members may obtain this pamphlet from the Southern Negro Youth Congress, 526 Masonic Temple Building, Birmingham 3, Alabama.

Relief and Rehabilitation

CATTLE FROM CHURCH GROUP FOR UNRRA. One hundred and seventy-five head of cattle have been offered to UNRRA by the Church of the Brethren for the people

of Czechoslovakia. The cattle, most of them raised on the farms of the people who gave them, are the contributions of individuals and congregations in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. Several city churches in those states, however, purchased animals as calves over a year ago, in anticipation of Europe's needs, and paid nearby farmers for raising them. The Church of the Brethren also assists UNRRA in the shipment of all farm animals from the United States by providing live-stock handlers for the voyages.

This is certainly a significant experiment in *applied* Christianity, and one that makes much of our "social action" seem like mere verbiage.

International Relations

THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE came recently to the World Alliance For International Friendship Through the Churches from Prof. William E. Rappard, Rector of the University of Geneva, Switzerland:

"Peace depends on the will of men and nations and especially on the will of the most powerful among them. Now the will of men and nations is in turn strongly influenced, if not strictly determined, by their philosophy of life. Of all human philosophies, none is more fraught with peril for the future than the doctrine of despair, unless it be that of unjustified optimism. War is bound to overwhelm us again unless we have the virility to ban the double illusions of inevitable and of impossible catastrophe. The former sometimes seems to dominate the Old World; the latter is perhaps more prevalent in the New. Let us hope and strive that both will give way to a clear-sighted and strong-willed constructive realism. The churches can render humanity no greater service than by building up a true World Alliance through the promotion of sincere international friendship."

TRENCHANT COMMENT ON BRITAIN'S RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA is found in "The Christian News-Letter", published in London. An editorial by Kathleen Bliss states:

"First, Russia is a country rising from terrible poverty, beaten back by the destruction wrought by a ruthless enemy, struggling to repair her terrible losses.

Secondly, in judging Russian policy the fullest allowance has to be made for the fact of revolution. The Soviet Government has been put in power by a recent revolution. Its authority is not derived from the orderly processes of democratic consent that among us are the slow growth of centuries.

Thirdly, whatever we may wish to be otherwise in Russia, the indispensable condition of its ever being realized is that peace should be maintained. If war were to occur, every other question would go by the board. Nothing should be left undone to convince the present rulers of Russia of the readiness of the western democracies to go all lengths with them in cooperation for the establishment of peace, without demanding from them the sacrifice of what they regard as vital.

Fourthly, this need not, and must not, preclude an open and fearless assertion of what we believe to be the true foundations of the new world order. Frankness is not a bar, but rather an aid, to right relations, whether between individuals or between peoples. There is no basis on which human relations can be securely established except right and truth. We need not conceal our conviction that forced labour and the inhumanities which accompany it, the use of torture, methods of terrorism and the excesses of a secret police in whatsoever country they may exist are incompatible with civilization and Christianity. To keep

silence about these matters, or to palliate them, is a betrayal of human rights.

Fifthly, we need to cultivate in ourselves integrity of purpose and impartiality of judgment. The element of power politics in Anglo-American policy needs to be frankly recognized. What appear to one side essential measures of defence are apt to look like a threat of aggression to the other. While there are fears in America and Great Britain of Russian expansion and aggression, Russia also, which has for centuries been the victim of aggression by western Powers—experiences which have sunk deep into the national memory—is anxiously concerned about her own security. From the Russian point of view it may well appear that America and Britain, while insisting on exclusive spheres of influence where their own security seems to be at stake, demand the right to take a hand in the politics of countries in which their interests are relatively small while those of Russia are vital.

An imaginative, resolute and patient effort to understand and to remove the causes of fear and to co-operate actively in the constructive tasks of peace may seem to be beyond the capacity of a weary, undernourished, tortured, disillusioned and dissolving world. Yet the force needed to overcome its lethargy and inertia may be supplied in part by the knowledge that such an effort is indispensable for the survival of mankind”.

Rural Welfare

THE 1945 CENSUS will show that the spread of tenancy has been checked, Regional Director E. S. Morgan of the Farm Security Administration predicted recently when he reported that one out of every fourteen “full owners” of farms in the four states—Alabama, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina—of “Region V” attained ownership through the FSA.

Mr. Morgan, whose headquarters are at Montgomery, said there are now 18,413 new family type farm owners in the four states and that all of these were former tenants or sharecroppers. This is 7.43% of the 247,741 full farm owners as reported by the 1940 census. Full owners are those who own and operate their farms as distinguished from part owners who own a part and rent another part of the land they operate.

Georgia led the four states with 9.69%, nearly one of every ten full owners in the state attaining ownership as a result of the FSA’s rehabilitation and farm ownership programs. In Alabama it was one out of fourteen; South Carolina one out of sixteen, and Florida one out of twenty-five.

Most of the 18,413 new farm owners in the region purchased their farms upon repayment terms of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act in the FSA’s farm ownership program, Mr. Morgan said. There were 9,921 new owners who bought their farms with Bankhead-Jones funds, and another 1,683 family-type farms were sold to tenants and share-croppers in the liquidation of projects upon the Bankhead-Jones maximum 40 year repayment terms at three per cent.

The remaining 6,809 of the new owners are tenants and share-croppers who have been enrolled in the FSA’s rehabilitation program. After receiving training for the responsibilities of ownership in the rehabilitation program these borrowers purchased farms through the Federal Land Bank, insurance companies, banks, and other sources.

One of every seven Negro full owners of farms in Georgia, and one of every ten in the four states, are former tenants and sharecroppers who have attained ownership through the Farm Security Administration program, Mr. Morgan said.

Cooperatives

THE COMMITTEE ON THE CHURCH AND COOPERATIVES of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America sponsored a special conference on “The Church and Cooperatives” in connection with the recent meeting of the Federal Council in Columbus, Ohio. Among the speakers were Dr. J. Henry Carpenter, chairman of the committee and Secretary of the Brooklyn Church and Mission Federation; the Rev. Cameron P. Hall; and Murray D. Lincoln, president of the Cooperative League.

“**HOW CONSUMERS CAN GET THE BEST FOR THE LEAST**” was outlined by Dr. Robert M. Hutchins recently in “Progress Guide”. Said Dr. Hutchins: “If we are prepared simply to take the view that we are all consumers, that this is, economically, our only common bond, and that we should unite as consumers in the conviction that everybody should get the most of the best for the least, many of our economic difficulties would cease to plague us. In this view the pressure group that tries to keep us from getting the most of the best for the least is our natural enemy; and the remedy is not to form a pressure group of our own to get a larger share of the consumer’s dollar for less, but to abolish all pressure groups, so that the consumer may get the most of the best for the least.”

What Is “Free Enterprise?”

OSWELL BLAKESTON *

I have had a chance recently to study some people who believe in “freedom of enterprise”. Emotionally, it’s a phrase which makes a very nice noise; factually it has a sinister reference. You find that when the average person talks of “freedom of enterprise” he means only one thing. The average person is not, under this favorite slogan, campaigning for freedom for, say, the musician, the sculptor, the craftsman, the artist, the poet, the philosopher, to do the things he really wants to do instead of having to boil the pot with trivialities. These apostles of “free enterprise” look utterly blank if you talk of real freedoms of the spirit. By “freedom of enterprise” they mean one thing and one thing only—the freedom to make as much money as they can. Now, while I hold that every significant freedom should exist, there is one so-called freedom which cannot be permitted—the freedom of man to exploit man. By all means let us have freedom of enterprise—but in everything except the accumulation of wealth.

Seal of Slavery

Here is a test. How many people who now clamor for “freedom of enterprise” would still be interested in their battle-cry if my restriction held? How many people care about the thing they do for its own sake rather than for its monetary reward? And yet unless we do rediscover the satisfaction of creative activity (whether it be painting a picture or cultivating one’s own garden), we are damned on this earth forever and ever. “Freedom of enterprise” might imply the promise of salvation; but it has come to signify, in common parlance, the seal of slavery.

For can the freedom of man to exploit man be considered a freedom at all? Obviously the exploited are not free, and the exploiter is a servant of his own sin. The process of making money is the meanest activity of man, and he who devotes himself wholeheartedly to it is inevitably degraded. The profiteers, the men of Big Business are so clearly not the models for any picture we would paint of Free Men, and

* Oliver Blakeston is a well-known English writer, and this article appeared originally in “Peace News”, published in London.

their "freedom of enterprise" is but a habit-forming drug which robs them of the last vestige of humanity. Isn't it an excuse to "do the dirty" on someone else? Although it is equally a contradiction in terms, one might say that this freedom for economic exploitation might more truly be called the freedom-not-to-be-human.

So, if one uses words carefully, one must see that freedom can never be associated with the machinery for amassing fortunes. We have heard much of the dangers of freedom, such as the danger of the armaments manufacturer who is free to sell death to the highest bidder. The poison is not taken from the word unless we apply it to the realm in which freedom exists—to the Spirit. The way to give us genuine "freedom of enterprise" is to give each man security (say some form of national dividend) and the maximum leisure (which can indeed be ample in a machine age). Then man will be free to have enterprise in all things which make man man, and not beast. Take away from man this freedom to exploit others and he will be free.

What of the Misfits?

And what, some people may ask, of those who are conditioned under the present regime and are fundamentally anti-social? Even if, they say, your New World, in which people find they cannot use money to gain power, will produce a new type of citizen, what of the mis-fits? Are they to be free (say) to write exactly what they want, even if it is communal poison? Yes. If without the motive of personal profit, they still feel driven to express themselves, let them. But if they are obviously anti-social, they can write but they cannot publish exactly as they wish; just as the man who is pathologically a murderer cannot be given unlimited license. That is the meaning of Society—that it should control vicious attempts at compensation by the inferior. But, in all cases, society must impose the minimum of control, just enough to restrain the criminal from doing harm. For instance, the anti-social book might be published under the same cover as an essay, from one of the most brilliant exponents of the mentally unbalanced, giving the view sanctioned by humanity on the book's argument.

Nothing to Exploit

But in a world of true "free enterprise", in a world made free from fear of starvation, in a world in which satisfaction can be found by the freedom to express one's significant self, there would be no dangerous unconscious forces for the misfit to exploit. The mis-fit is not likely to gain a wide influence, even if his work were published without any counter-balance. Yes, "freedom of enterprise" is a thing worth boosting; and when people use it as a tag, it's up to us to point out to them what it really means.

From God derived, to God by nature joined,
We act the dictates of this mighty mind;
And tho' the priests are mute, and temples still
God never lacks a voice to speak his will.—*Lucian*.

God is truth, and light his shadow.—*Plato*.

The Federation Mailbag

Des Moines, Iowa

Gentlemen:

Your challenge in the February issue: "MFSS CHAPTER BUILDING" appeals to me because I have been advocating local associations or chapters for several years.

Will you tell me about any group which now exists in this city?

If none exists, will you send me the names and addresses of persons who are or have been members of the MFSS so that I can get together a few to start a local chapter.

If you have any promotional literature, I should appreciate receiving some: perhaps some extra copies (a dozen or so) of the February SOCIAL QUESTION BULLETIN. I can use these even though a chapter is already started.

Very truly yours,
Ernest Denning

New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

The time is again here when we must make some decisions regarding the selection of representatives to attend the Institute of Industrial Relations for ministers from industrial areas, to be held at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, July 8-19, 1946.

After conference with Dr. E. E. Schwarztrauber, the Director, a very attractive program has been arranged. We are sending you a supply of the printed programs for distribution among those you think might attend.

We desire to secure a list of those who are likely to be present, or at least an indication of the number from your denomination, and shall appreciate your help in assembling this information. The school is limited, and we are suggesting the number that we should like to have from your church. The total cost for tuition, board and room is \$37.50. We are again suggesting that scholarships of \$20.00 be offered. Some communions are also paying the travel expense of their delegates.

May we heard from you concerning the probable attendance by ministers of your denomination?

Yours Cordially,
James Myers, Industrial Sec'y,
Fed. Council of Churches
Mark A. Dawber, Exec. Sec'y
Home Missions Council of N. A.

San Antonio, Texas

Gentlemen:

I propose that members of the Federation observe Friday, April 19th, as a DAY OF FASTING AND FELLOWSHIP when we'll abstain from food for one meal, preferably at noon, and give the price (say \$1) to the hungry throughout the world.

Probably others would join us.

This practical manifestation of fellowship will bring us a blessing, and if widely observed, would bring a spiritual blessing to the nation.

Fraternally,
John C. Granbery
Editor, The Emancipator

William Penn: "In the contraries of peace, we see the beauties and benefits of it. It is a great mark of the corruption of our natures that we cannot know the comfort of peace, but by the smart and penance of the vices of war."

Books and Pamphlets

Stewart, Maxwell S.: *We Can Have Better Schools*. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 112. Published by the Public Affairs Committee. Ten Cents.

A writer for the New York TIMES recently remarked that the American High School graduate is blood relative to an illiterate. He might have added that this also applies to the average college graduate. The truth is that the majority of those who have been given "every advantage" under the American educational system fall far short of being adequately trained for life in our kind of a world.

And millions of young people across the country do not have the benefit of even those imperfect educational opportunities that do exist. Lack of elementary training in the traditional "Three R's" was dramatically brought home in the early years of the war when more than half a million young men were either rejected for military service because of "lack of educational accomplishment" or were forced to learn the rudiments of reading, writing, and elementary math in the Army. Nor could this be attributed to inferior intellectual capacity, for the experience of the Army during the war showed that American boys were quick and eager to learn when given an incentive and when good materials were available. The Army also discovered that a great number of young men (and women, too) knew nothing of the underlying causes of the war, or what fascism meant, and were completely lacking in knowledge of the peoples and countries they were sent to "liberate".

The States as such, says Dr. Stewart, are failing at their educational task. Why?

First, classes are too large. The Army showed the value of small classes. *Second*, in most instances the materials and teaching methods are antiquated. Here again the Army demonstrated how quickly people can learn if materials are carefully planned, if use is made of movies, film-strips, and other visual aids, and if the emphasis is not on learning for its own sake but so that it may be used in action and work. *Third*, for the most part teachers are poorly trained and lack insight into the goals for which they and their pupils alike are presumably striving. Teachers are teaching subjects instead of teaching students. A survey reveals that 62% of our country school teachers, 21% of our village school teachers and 9% of the city teachers have had less than two years of college. And discipline is usually found to be either of the autocratic, Prussian type or the irresponsible "children-must-be-allowed-to-express-themselves" variety. Seldom is there found the ideal democratic type of discipline, wherein the teacher provides leadership *within* the groups, sharing the planning with the students. *Fourth*, and most important, there are great differences in educational budgets and facilities. New York, for instance, spends more than \$150 per pupil per year, while Mississippi spends only \$7 per year for each Negro pupil. However, the poorer states are, in some instances, actually spending a larger percentage of their income on education than are the wealthier ones.

The Southern States have the additional stumbling block of Jim Crow education. Much less is spent on school buildings, equipment, and teachers for the Negro child than is spent for the white child. Mississippi, for example, while spending only \$7 per year per Negro child, spends an average of \$52 per year for each white boy or girl. And so it goes in Texas, Arkansas, North Carolina.

Children of migratory workers, children in poor districts throughout the country, non-English speaking children (Spanish or Mexican usually) also are denied adequate educational opportunity.

Why is America falling down on the job of educating its citizens? Why could the Army be so successful with its special training program when the public educational facilities have been so notably unsuccessful in producing an intelligent citizenry? Perhaps the basic reason is that legislators were willing to sanction the expenditure of "billions for defense" while every new proposal for increases in State educational budgets was being turned down. Money makes the mare go, in education as elsewhere.

The problem is too great for the States. Until there is some overall Federal educational plan for all Americans regardless of race, creed, or color, educational will continue to be spotty. The Federal government has too great a stake in the training of its citizens to permit the States to continue making a mess of American education. A citizen of the U. S., though he (or she) live in Mississippi or California has a right to a good education. And as the United States is now a part of the UNO, each American citizen also has a right to training as a world citizen—even if he is the son of a Southern Negro share-cropper!

J. C. B.

Information Bulletin, Embassy of the U. S. S. R.: *The Sixteen Soviet Republics*. Washington 8, D. C. Free.

With attempts to understand the Soviet Union apparently running a losing race with attempts to misunderstand her, it would be well for all of us to know more about the country with which Mr. Churchill and his kind would have us go to war.

This is frankly propagandistic booklet, published by the Soviet Government and making no pretense of "impartiality", but it gives us a great many plain and indisputable facts about a great social and political experiment which, if soberly pondered by the right people, might stall off the threatened Armageddon indefinitely.

What General Staff in its right mind, for instance (if any of them ever are) could calmly contemplate the prospect of invading a country 8,500,000 square miles in extent, with its capitol a full ten days train ride from its geographical center? A vast continuous land area stretching from the Carpathian Mountains and the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean, and from the Arctic Ocean to the Pamirs and the plains of Mongolia? And how does one wage economic warfare against a country which ranks first in the world in such vital materials as iron ore (with quartzites), oil, manganese, apatite, phosphates, magnesium salts, niobium, and peat, to say nothing of water power and timber resources, and second in coal, lead, zinc, and nickel?

Through the booklet run the beautiful place-names of the Soviet Far Eastern Republics—names that remind us of the Tales of Tamerlane and Golden Samarkand—names like Kirghiz, Kazakh, (with its capital of Alma-Ata, a city of 230,000) stretching from the lower reaches of the Volga to the Altai Mountains, and from the Trans-Siberian Railroad to the mountains of Tien-Shan, Tajik, on the border of Afghanistan, the "Roof of the World", where Stalin Peak towers 24,600 feet in the air, Uzbek, with its great capitol of Tashkent, a city with a population greater than that of Cincinnati, in Soviet Central Asia, and Turkmen, reaching from the Caspian Sea to the Amu-Darya River.

The booklet is splendidly printed and illustrated, factual without being in the least dry, eminently readable. It is a valuable adjunct to any group study of the USSR. Federation members may obtain copies by writing directly to the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

A. J. S.

From time to time Federation members have suggested that we should try to review new and "socially significant" moving pictures in the SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN.

Beginning with the May issue, we will run a short review of the best "socially significant" picture to play in New York during the current month.

Many of these pictures will not be shown in small communities, but Federation members in New York, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, Boston, etc., will be glad to drop in on them after a trying Monday morning at Preacher's Meeting!